

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 2039

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINR, IT  
SUBJECT: POST-VACATION VIEWS OF DC DEPUTY MASSIMO DE CAROLIS

CONGEN MET SEPT 20 WITH DE CAROLIS' WHOSE VIEWS FOLLOW:

1. DE CAROLIS WAS NOT IN A VERY HAPPY FRAME OF MIND. HE HAD NOT WANTED, HE SAID, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT BUT HAD WANTED TO HAVE THE JOB OF SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL, WHICH HE GOT. THAT WAS SATISFACTORY ENOUGH FOR HIM AT THE PRESENT TIME. IT WAS TOO EARLY TO RISK ONE'S CAREER AT A MINISTERIAL POST WHEN THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK WAS SO UNCERTAIN. WHILE UMBERTO AGNELLI APPARENTLY DID WANT TO HAVE A CABINET JOB, DE CAROLIS THOUGHT IT WAS WISER TO WAIT AND ESTABLISH A POSITION WITHIN THE CHAMBER RATHER THAN RISK GETTING MIXED UP IN MINISTERIAL POLITICS. HE HAD NEVER WANTED TO BE A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN THE CITY GOVERNMENT IN MILAN. AS SOON AS ONE ACCEPTED AN EXECUTIVE POSITION, HE RISKED BEING COMPROMISED. IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO ESCAPE MAKING DEALS INVOLVING FAVORITISM OR BRIBERY OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER. AND ONCE YOU WERE TAINTED WITH THAT KIND OF EXPERIENCE, YOUR HANDS WERE TIED. AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, HE COULD STAND UP AND POINT TO ANY ABUSE THAT CAME TO HIS ATTENTION. HE NEVER HAD TO WORRY ABOUT SOMEONE BEING ABLE TO BLACKMAIL HIM FOR

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INVOLVEMENT IN SHADY DEALINGS. THAT WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO HIM

AND IT MADE A GREAT DIFFERENCE IN HIS POLITICAL STRENGTH. IT WAS TRUE THAT THE POLITICIAN WHOSE STRENGTH WAS BASED UPON BEHIND-THE-SCENES DEALS HAD REAL CLOUT IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND COULD GET THINGS DONE. BUT IT WAS ALSO TRUE, THAT HE HAD BECOME A PRISONER OF A CORRUPT SYSTEM.

2. DE CAROLIS THOUGHT THAT ANDREOTTI WAS THE IDEAL MAN FOR PRIME MINISTER AT THIS TIME. HE HAD BEEN UNANIMOUSLY FAVORED BY THE PARTY DIRECTORATE. ON THE ONE HAND, HE WAS SUITABLE TO THOSE WHO WERE AFRAID OF THE COMMUNISTS AND WERE CONVINCED THAT ANDREOTTI WAS A HARDLINE ANTI-COMMUNIST. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SUITED THOSE WHO WERE OPEN TO THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT ANDREOTTI WAS JUST THE MAN TO MAKE A DEAL. AND HE WAS, WITHOUT A DOUBT, THE MOST INTELLIGENT AND THE MOST ABLE OF THE PRIME MINISTERIAL TIMBER AVAILABLE TO THE PARTY AT THE PRESENT TIME. THAT DIDN'T MEAN THAT DE CAROLIS PARTICULARLY TRUSTED HIM. FRANKLY, HE DIDN'T KNOW WHICH WAY ANDREOTTI WOULD JUMP. HE WAS THE KIND OF FELLOW WHOULD COULD MAKE A DEAL WITH THE COMMUNISTS, IF IT CAME TO THAT.

3. THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK WAS PRETTY GRIM. THE MINOR PARTIES, IN DE CAROLIS'S OPINION, WERE JUST ABOUT NON-EXISTENT. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WERE ON THE ROPES, THE LIBERALS HAD ALMOST DISAPPEARED AND THE REPUBLICANS WERE FAVORABLE TO THE COMPROMESSO STORICO. THAT LEFT THE SOCIALISTS. HE AHD ALWAYS FAVOURED MAKING CONCESSIONS TO THE SOCIALISTS TO BRING THEM BACK INTO A COALITION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. HE THOUGHT THAT CRAXI WAS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND HE HAD A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN HIM. HOWEVER, IT WAS GOING TO TAKE TIME AND IT WAS TOO SOON TO KNOW WHEN A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-SOCIALISTS ALLIANCE MIGHT BE RE-ESTABLISHED.

4. THERE WERE CHANGES IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AFTER THE JULY ELECTIONS BUT THAT TOO WAS A SLOW PROCESS AND IT WAS GOING A LOT MORE SLOWLY OUTSIDE LOMBARDY THAN WITHIN. DE CAROLIS SAID THAT HE WAS DEPRESSED TO SEE THE OLD-TIME MENTALITY AND THE LACK OF NEW THINKING THAT SEEMED TO BE PREVALENT IN HIS OWN PARTY FOR THOSE WHO CAME FROM REGIONS OTHER THAN LOMBARDY. HERE, HE THOUGHT THAT THIS CORNER HAD BEEN TURNED. BUT ELSE-  
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WHERE, HE WAS NOT SO SURE. IT WAS PRETTY CLEAR THAT SOME OF THE OLD HEADS HAD FALLEN. RUMOR AND GUI WERE CERTAINLY OUT. THE FUTURE OF MORO WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS CERTAIN BECAUSE HE TILL HAD A LOT OF CLOUT. PICCOLI WAS NOT A GREAT COMER ALTHOUGH DE CAROLIS IDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH THE PICCOLI FACTION. AMONG THE NEW NAMES OF WHOM HE SPOKE WELL WERE PANDOLFI FROM BRESCIA, ZAMBERLETTI WHO HAS BEEN MADE RECONSTRUCTION CZAR IN FRIULI, POSTAL WHO IS AN UNDER

SECRETARY FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND, OF COURSE, ROSSI DE MONTELERA.

5. DE CAROLIS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD FORMED A NEW STUDY CENTER WHICH HAS AS ONE OF ITS OBJECTIVES THE WIDENING OF THE HORIZONS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. HE SAYS THAT HE HAS BEEN STRUCK REPEATEDLY BY THE PROVINCIAL NATURE OF ITALIAN THINKING AND BY THE FACT THAT SO MANY ITALIAN LEADERS ARE PRISONERS OF AN ARTIFICIAL POLITICAL WORLD IN ITALY THAT CUTS THEM OFF FROM THE REST OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD. HIS NEW CENTER IS PLANNED TO CREATE A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THINKERS AND SCHOLARS FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD TO BROADEN THE HORIZONS OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF DC LEADERS.

6. HE WAS ESPECIALLY HOT ON THE RELATED QUESTION OF THE DC'S FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION. HE SPOKE OF THE STRUGGLE THAT IS NOW GOING ON TO DECIDE WHO WOULD BE THE PARTY OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR DC FOREIGN POLICY. ACCORDING TO DE CAROLIS, THE WHOLE QUESTION HAD PRETTY MUCH FALLEN INTO A TORPOR AFTER THE DE GASPERI PERIOD AS FOREIGN POLICY SIMPLY EVAPORATED AS A MAJOR ITALIAN POLITICAL CONCERN. NOW, HOWEVER, HE SEES AN EFFORT ON THE PART OF AN IMPORTANT FACTION IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO MOVE ITALY INTO A THIRD WORLD POSITION. HE WAS ESPECIALLY ANGRY, IN THAT CONNECTION, WITH FORMER UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS LUIGI GRANELLI WHO IS TRYING TO GET THE JOB AS PARTY FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAN. HE AND DE CAROLIS HAVE BEEN IN A BITTER DEBATE IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO DE CAROLIS, THEY HAVE TAKEN DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE POSITIONS. DE CAROLIS IS UNEQUIVOCAL IN HIS SUPPORT FOR THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, ALIGNMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE STRENGTHENING OF WESTERN EUROPEAN UNITY. GRANELLI, ON THE OTHER HAND, EQUATES THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, SEES ITALY'S FUTURE WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND WANTS TO GET OUT OF THE

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CHOICE BETWEEN THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND THE SOVIET BLOCK. HERE, DE CAROLIS FORESEES A NASTY FIGHT ON A VERY FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE THAT COULD HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO DO WITH THE LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE COMMUNISTS.

7. DE CAROLIS IS LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BOTH TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS THAT WILL ENABLE HIM TO EXPAND THE TIES BETWEEN THE YOUNGER CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GENERATION AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE ITALIAN SITUATION WITH DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS. FINA

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